

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 9202

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, SP

SUBJECT: WARSAW PACT DECLARATION ON FREEZING NATO AND WP MEMBERSHIP

REF: STATE 291456, STATE 293887

1. AS FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA WAS UNAVAILABLE, WE BRIEFED ACTING DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC AFFAIRS JORGE DEL PINO ON USG REACTION TO WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL ON FREEZING NATO AND WARSAW PACT MEMBERSHIP.

2. DEL PINO SAID THAT THE SPANISH VIEW OF THE WARSAW PACT MEMBERSHIP FREEZE PROPOSAL CORRESPONDED PRETTY MUCH WITH OURS. THEY VIEWED IT AS A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE, PRIMARILY, BUT POSSIBLY THE SOVIETS HOPED FOR FALL OUT ON SOME PRESSURE POINTS, E.G. YUGOSLAVIA AND SPAIN. THE SPANISH, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, TOOK THE POSITION THAT THIS WAS REALLY A NATO MATTER THOUGH THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE LITTLE IMPACT ON NATO ATTITUDES. HE ADDED THAT THEY HAD CIRCULARIZED SPANISH EMBASSIES IN THE NON-COMMUNIST SIGNATORY POWERS TO THE CSCE AND FOUND THAT INITIAL FOREIGN OFFICE REACTIONS IN THESE COUNTRIES ABOUT MATCHED THE SPANISH AND
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U.S. REACTIONS. HE NOTED THAT THEY HAD BEEN MOST INTER-

ESTED IN THE SCANDINAVIAN REACTIONS SINCE THERE WAS A SHADE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ATTITUDES OF NORWAY AND DENMARK TOWARD NATO IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF OTHER NATO MEMBERS. NONETHELESS, THEY HAD FOUND NO ONE SURPRISED NOR PARTICULARLY EXCITED BY THIS WARSAW PACT INITIATIVE.

3. DEL PINO SAID THAT HIS IMPRESSION ALSO COINCIED WITH OURS VIS-A-VIS YUGOSLAVIAN ATTITUDES. AT ALL EVENTS THE SPANISH WERE MAKING THE POINT (PRESUMABLY TO THE SOVIETS) THAT SPAIN AND YUGOSLAVIA COULD NOT BE COMPARED. SPAIN WAS CLEARLY PART OF THE WESTERN WORLD. YUGOSLAVIA WAS A BORDER MARCH, IDEALOGICALLY INCLINED TO THE EAST BUT ZEALOUS IN MAINTAINING ITS OWN AUTONOMY FORM EITHER BLOC.

4. THE REAL PROBLEM WITH REGARD TO SPANISH NATO MEMBERSHIP, WHICH HE REALIZED WE UNDERSTOOD, WOULD COME WITH RESPECT TO SPANISH PUBLIC AND MILITARY OPINION. ONLY AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT WITH THE MANDATE OF THE PEOPLE COULD MAKE A DECISION TO ENTER NATO AND THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO PROCEED CAREFULLY IN RESPECT OF BOTH MILITARY AND PUBLIC OPINION. THE MILITARY, AS WE KNEW, WAS DIVIDED ON THE ISSUE WITH THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE PRO-NATO AND THE ARMY'S MIND-SET SOMEWHAT SPLIT BETWEEN THE NATIONALIST-MINDED OLD GUARD OFFICERS AND THE YOUNGER PRO-NATO GENERATION PLUS SOME REALISTS AT THE TOP RANKS. THESE REALISTS, HOWEVER, FURTHER ARMY MODERNIZATION PRIOR TO NATO ENTRY SO THAT THEIR STRUCTURAL AND EQUIPMENT SHORTCOMINGS WOULD NOT BE SO GLARING.

5. DEL PINO NOTED THAT ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT ADDED TO THE SPANISH VIEW OF THE PROPAGANDISTIC NATURE OF THE FREEZE PROPOSAL WAS THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE WARSAW PACT HAD PUT FORTH TO THE NATO ALLIANCE MEMBERS THE NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROPOSAL BUT HAD ONLY PUBLICIZED THE FREEZE PROPOSAL. HE SAID THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WOULD BE MOST APPRECIATIVE IF THE U.S. COULD ALSO PROVIDE THE MINISTRY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OUR INITIAL ASSESSMENT ON THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROPOSAL. STABLER

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